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A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE FLORIDA-LOUISIANA FRONTIER WITH REFERENCES TO THE CARIBBEAN, 1492-1812

Compilers:

Joseph P. Sánchez
William H. Broughton
Eva D. Gallegos
Jerry L. Gurulé
Rebecca Steele

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A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE FLORIDA-LOUISIANA FRONTIER WITH REFERENCES TO THE CARIBBEAN, 1492-1819

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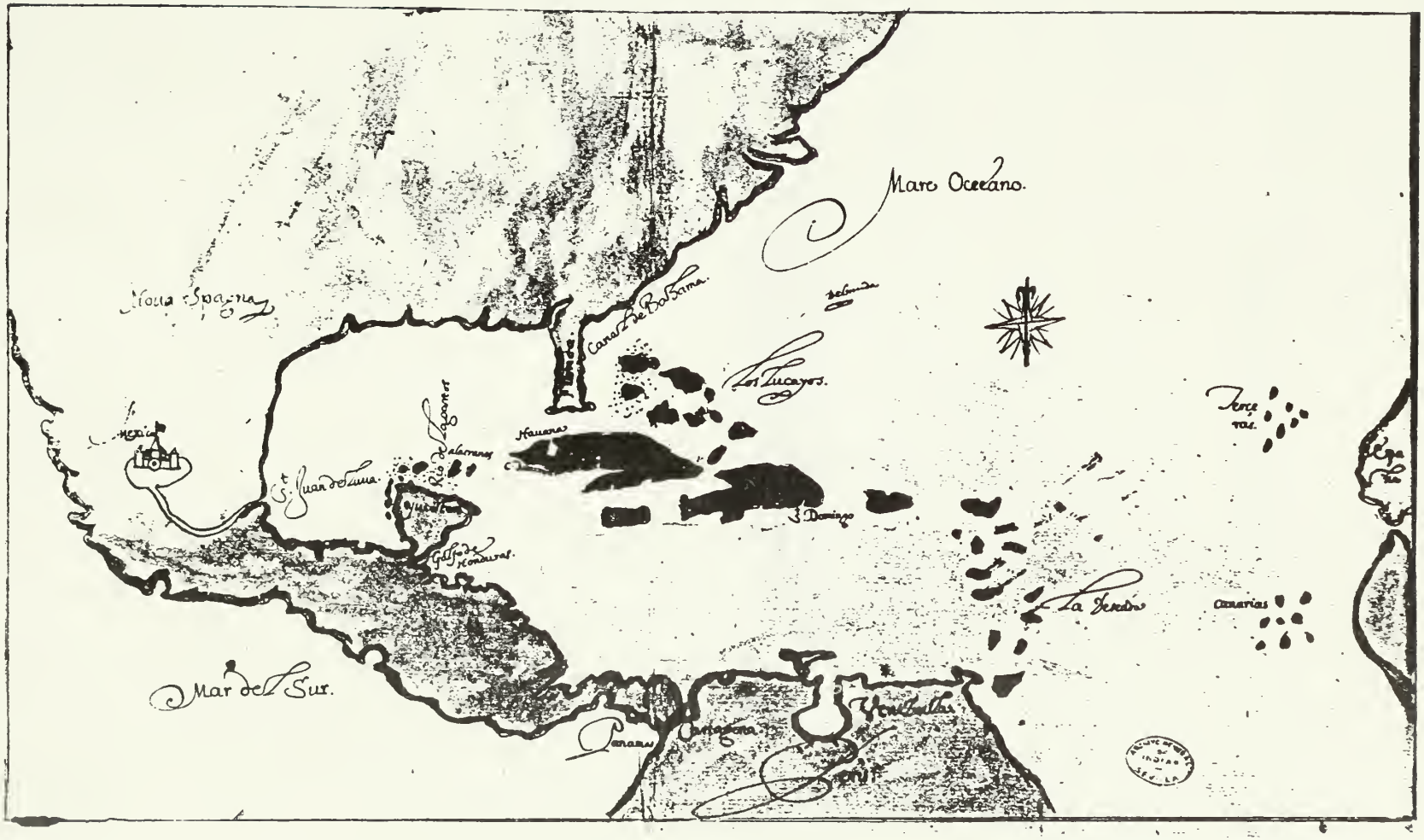

GULF OF MEXICO Central America, Florida, and the Atlantic, 16th century.

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of Bernadette Herrera and Angelica Sanchez,
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PREFACE

A Selected Bibliography of the Louisiana-Florida Frontier with References to the Caribbean, 1492-1819 is a fascinating assortment of nearly 2,000 titles on the historical literature of southeastern United States during the Spanish Colonial Period. Researchers and interpreters of Spanish Colonial history will find this volume an indispensable tool in their studies of the Louisiana-Florida frontier. References for Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Santo Domingo, and Cuba are included to round out historical perspectives between them and the mainland of North America.

The European contact with native cultures is the watershed between prehistory and history, for it signals a common heritage shared by all Americans. Clearly, the common history of the United States and Latin America is reinforced by a Pan-American heritage that began long before Europeans set foot on the Western Hemisphere. Our American Indian heritage is tens of thousands of years old, compared to our European past. Much is still to be learned about our collective past in many parts of North America. Even lesser known in the southeastern United States is our Spanish Colonial Heritage that began soon after 1492 when Christopher Columbus awakened to a New World. The colonial-native relationships that developed throughout North America are part of our national story and, when seen through the wide lens of history, it is part of a much larger heritage that unfolded in the Western Hemisphere.

Spain's efforts to colonize North and South America is yet another part of our Pan-American heritage. The Georgia-Florida frontier, the Gulf Islands frontier, the Louisiana frontier, and the Mississippi River Valley frontier are part of the Spanish claim that took place from a common geographic point: Cuba. Today, the National Park Service, the various southeastern states and protectorates of the United States commemorate many Spanish Colonial Heritage sites in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Together with the Native American heritage, Christopher Columbus's European discovery of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands on his second voyage, 1493-96, represents a vantage point for the National Park Service's efforts to preserve our historical patrimony.

On the eve of the Christopher Columbus Quincentennial, this volume presents us with an opportunity to reflect upon who we are as a people. In their efforts to encourage the study of Spanish Colonial history and culture throughout the United States, the staff of the Spanish Colonial Research Center, a joint project of the National Park Service and the University of New Mexico, is to be congratulated for the fine effort put forth in this invaluable volume.

John Cook
Regional Director
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THE FLORIDA-LOUISIANA FRONTIER AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1492-1819

The map drawn by Juan de la Cosa in 1500 was the first glimpse Europeans caught of the Caribbean. On it Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and a few other insular configurations are easily discernible. At an early date Spanish mariners found the North Atlantic Stream, which greatly speeded their homeward voyage from the New World, off the coast of Florida through the Bahama Channel. North of there, Spaniards caught the trade winds off the Carolina coast or thereabouts. Meantime, Havana became the port of assembly for ships returning to Spain by way of the Azores. By 1565, San Agustín, Florida, was the last stopping place before navigators turned their ships toward the rising sun on their run to Spain. In an ever-expanding exploration of North America, Spanish mariners mapped the Atlantic Coast, turned south around the Florida Peninsula and explored the Florida Keys, the Gulf Islands, and the coast from Tampa Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi River and beyond to the Texas coast. Likewise, during the period 1513-1565, mounted expeditions led by the likes of Juan Ponce de León, Pánfilo de Narváez, Hernando de Soto, Tristan de Luna y Arellano, and Angel de Villafane criss-crossed the land between Georgia and Louisiana in search of rich civilizations. Later, missionaries would attempt, with little success to pacify the area through conversions. The history of the Florida-Louisiana frontier, albeit in its incipient stages in the sixteenth century, was evolving.

After the conquest of Mexico and Peru, especially after the mines in the two areas had opened up, richly laden Spanish fleets departing the Americas through the Bahama Channel increased in size and value. Corsairs of Spain's rivals, aware of the situation, soon found the Bahama Islands to be convenient hideouts from which to sail forth to attack unsuspecting Spanish galleons. To protect itself from pirates, Spain resorted to the convoy system to assure safer passage for ships toiling northward through the narrows. When, in 1562 and again in 1564, the French established a weakly-held colony on the Florida coast, Spain sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés from Cuba in 1565 to expel them and plan the Spanish fort and settlement of San Agustín, today, the oldest European city within the limits of the United States. The following years saw the arrival of the Jesuits as missionaries, but they were withdrawn after suffering severe reverses inflicted by rebellious tribes they sought to convert along the Virginia coast. In later years, the Franciscans founded missions along the southeast Atlantic coastline, northward, toward present South Carolina. From such beginnings, Spanish interest in the Florida-Louisiana frontier increased. By 1565, Spain had explored much of the interior from Georgia to the Mississippi River and had made a thorough reconnaissance of the Gulf Coast from Tampa Bay to New Orleans and beyond to Texas.

Spanish interest and claims to the Gulf Coast between Tampa Bay and the mouth of the Mississippi River continued for the next two centuries. In 1762, the Spanish claim to the area changed significantly. A

demoralized French crown, decisively beaten in North America in the Seven Years' War by Britain made overtures for a Spanish alliance. Hopeful of salvaging a possible future foothold on the continent, the French Bourbons deeded its claims to New Orleans and the western half of the Mississippi Valley to their Spanish Bourbon cousin, Charles III. The agreement, reluctantly but realistically, signed by Spain and France, made them allies. Spain regretted this step, for as an ally of France, it became part of the Paris Peace Conference in 1763 in which it lost Cuba to Britain. In order to regain Cuba, "the key to the Caribbean," Spain agreed to cede Florida to Britain. It was then, that France, realizing Spain's predicament, felt that half of Louisiana might soothe the pain of loss for its ally. In late 1762, the trans-Mississippi west became a Spanish possession.

Spain was slow to claim Louisiana, and did not do so until 1764. When word reached French frontiersmen in Louisiana of the change in sovereignty, they felt betrayed by their mother country. Louisiana's first Spanish governor, Antonio de Ullua, met with resistance and rebellion from the French. In the end, he was driven from the colony. In 1769, Charles III sent Alejandro O'Reilly as governor. Irish born, O'Reilly was a favorite of the crown, for he had been credited with saving the king's life in 1765 during an insurrection in Madrid. He was a professional soldier and an able administrator who quickly settled affairs in Louisiana. Within six months he established a firm Spanish rule along the Mississippi River between New Orleans and St. Louis by executing five Frenchmen involved in the revolt against Ullua. Furthermore, during his administration, he regulated trade and placed Louisiana on a strong financial footing compared to its previous state of affairs. His successor, Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga, had little difficulty with his French subjects, who, in part, tolerated Spanish rule, but, on the other hand, participated in its administration as officials, soldiers traders and loyal citizens. By 1770 Spain was in control of Louisiana.

Governed by the captaincy-general of Cuba, the business of the Louisiana-Florida frontier followed the pattern of colonial affairs throughout the Western Hemisphere. Spain's dual Indian policy of alliances with friendly tribes and punitive expeditions against warring groups was part of the defense plan for North America from Florida to California. However, in the Louisiana-Florida frontier, Spanish sentinels kept a wary eye in the direction of an expanding English frontier, and ,later, on a dynamic little country, the United States of America, which threatened a new pattern of encroachment beyond the Mississippi River. After the American Revolution, in which Spanish forces participated, soldiers from the Caribbean reinforced commands in Florida as well as at newly acquired ports at Mobile and Pensacola. From New Orleans to St. Louis, Missouri, Spanish troops patrolled the river. From Barataria to Natchez, Arkansas Post and other important points in the interior, Spain established a series of forts and settlements in an effort to support the Spanish claim to the area. Defense of the Louisiana-Florida frontier was supported by a settlement pattern involving Spanish, French, German and Free-Black frontiersmen. The multi-ethnic frontier in Louisiana resulted in military units referred to as the *Legión Real Mixta de Milicias Provinciales Disciplinadas de Misisipi.* Black, Spanish-speaking soldiers patrolled the streets of New Orleans and San Agustín, and the Fixed Regiment of Louisiana participated in a series of assignments to secure the Louisiana frontier.

In October of 1800, Spain signed the Treaty of San Ildefonso returning Louisiana to France. Within two years, France sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States. Spain in the meantime had regained Florida, but time was running out on the Spanish Empire in America. By 1819 a new treaty-- the Adams-Onís Treaty--had given North America a new map. The United States had become the new sovereign of the Louisiana-Florida frontier, and the Spanish period there had come to an end.

The present bibliography on the Florida-Louisiana Frontier is a source for students of history to explore and learn about our Spanish Colonial heritage in southeastern United States. The bibliography includes references to Cuba, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, the Virgin Islands and the Caribbean so that the reader may have a reference for administrative and cultural perspectives regarding Spain's claim to the area that later became the

United States. Indeed, the Spanish occupation of the Louisiana-Florida Frontier is part of our national story. Continuity of the Spanish heritage is evident in the cultural, economic, political and historical ties the area continues to share with Cuba, Puerto Rico and other countries in the Caribbean. The diplomatic history of the area is, in itself, remarkable. Control of the Mississippi, Spanish participation in the American Revolution and colonization of the vast area stretching from Florida to the Mississippi are among the several subjects contained in many of the books and articles listed herein.

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A Selected Bibliography of the Southeastern Spanish Colonial Borderlands

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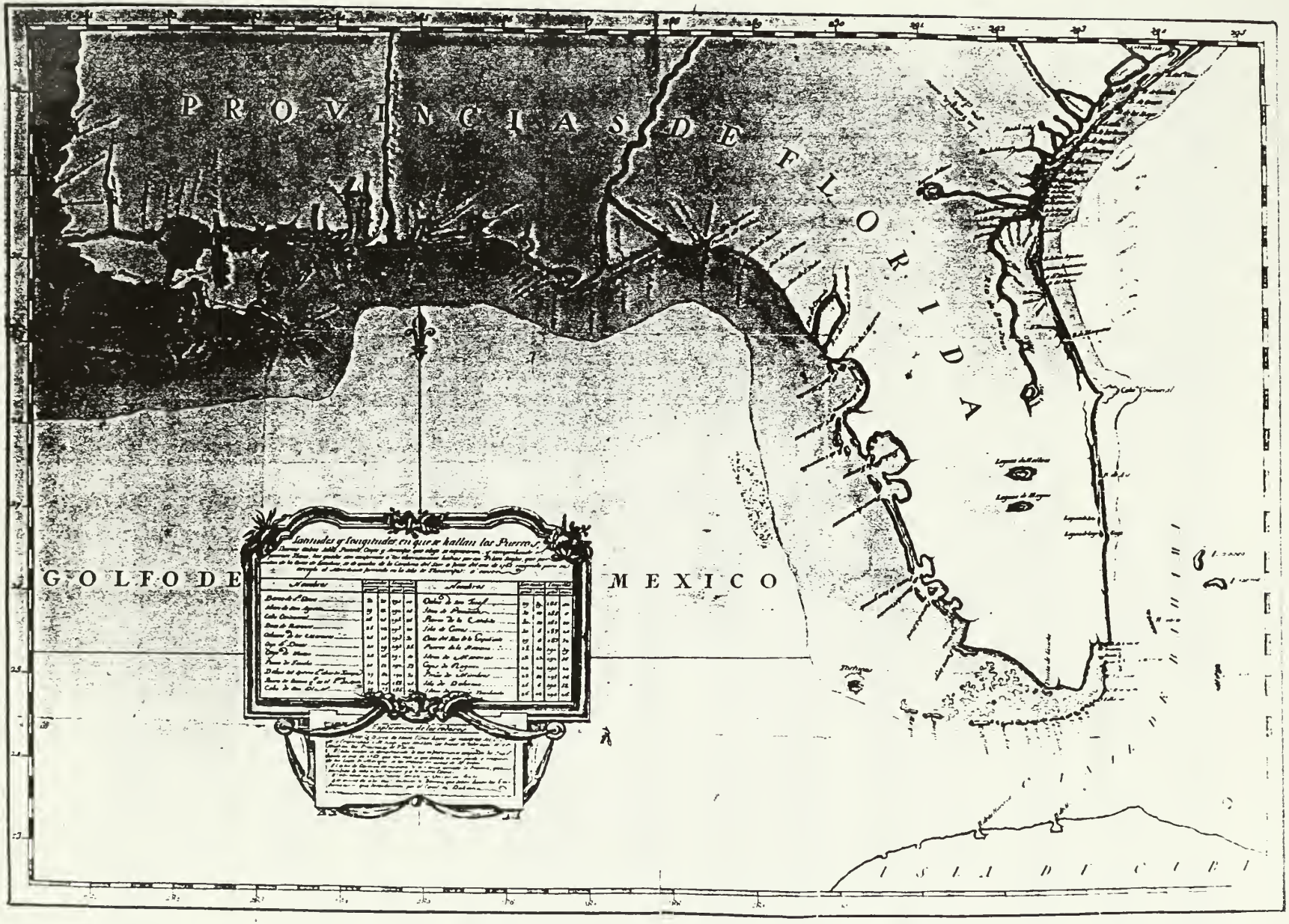

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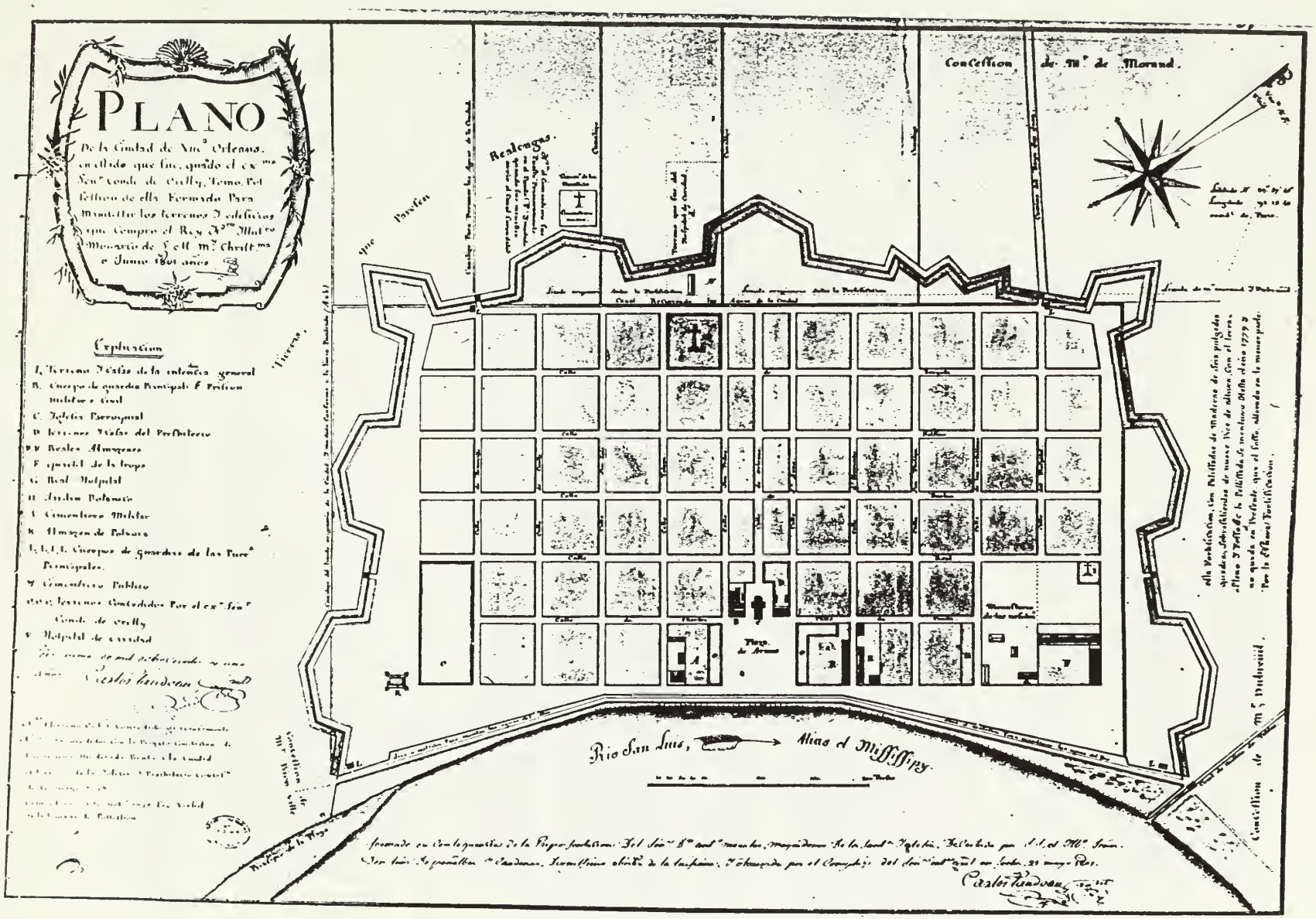

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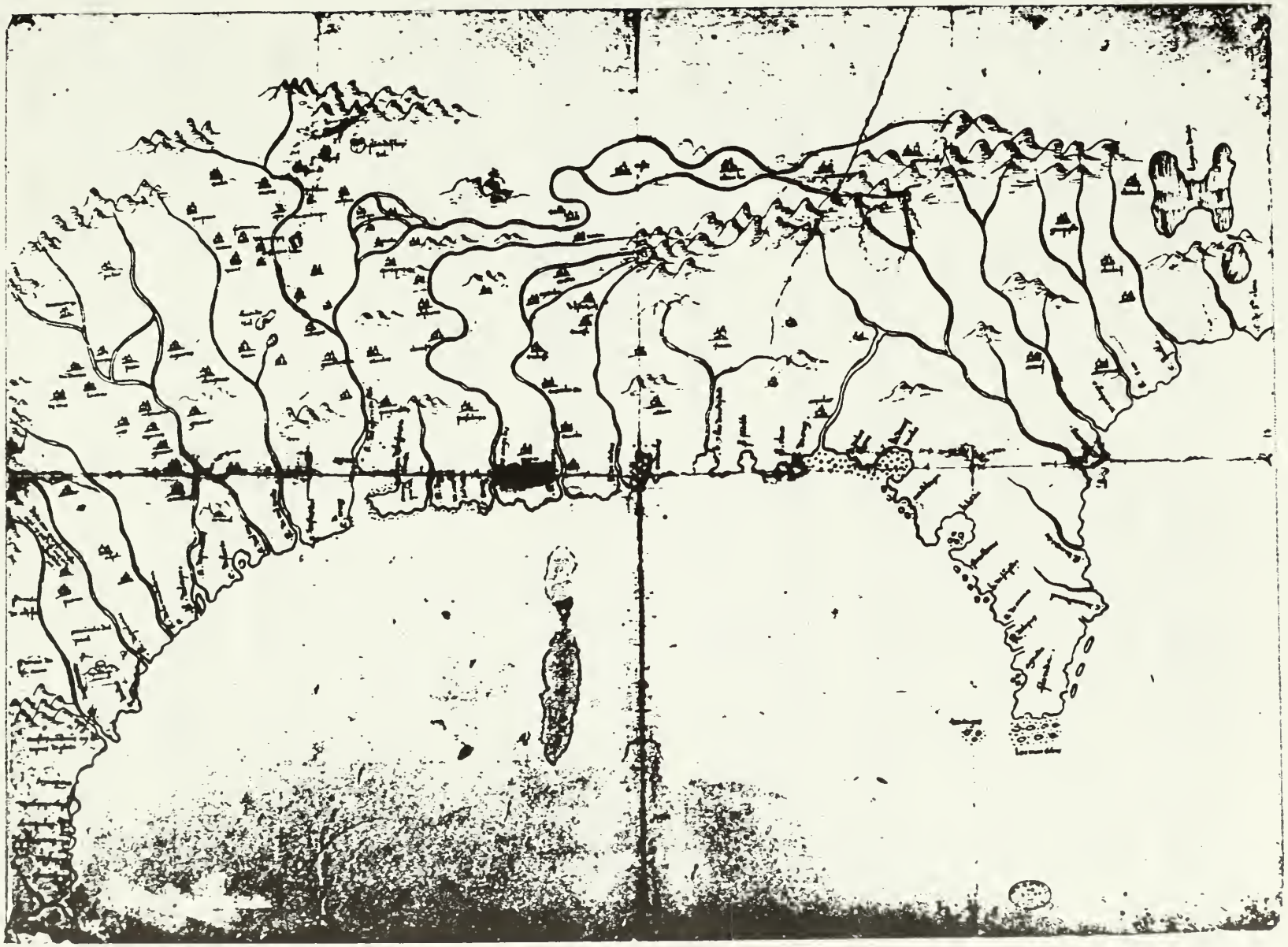

GULF OF MEXICO Florida to Texas. So-called "DeSoto Map." 16th century.

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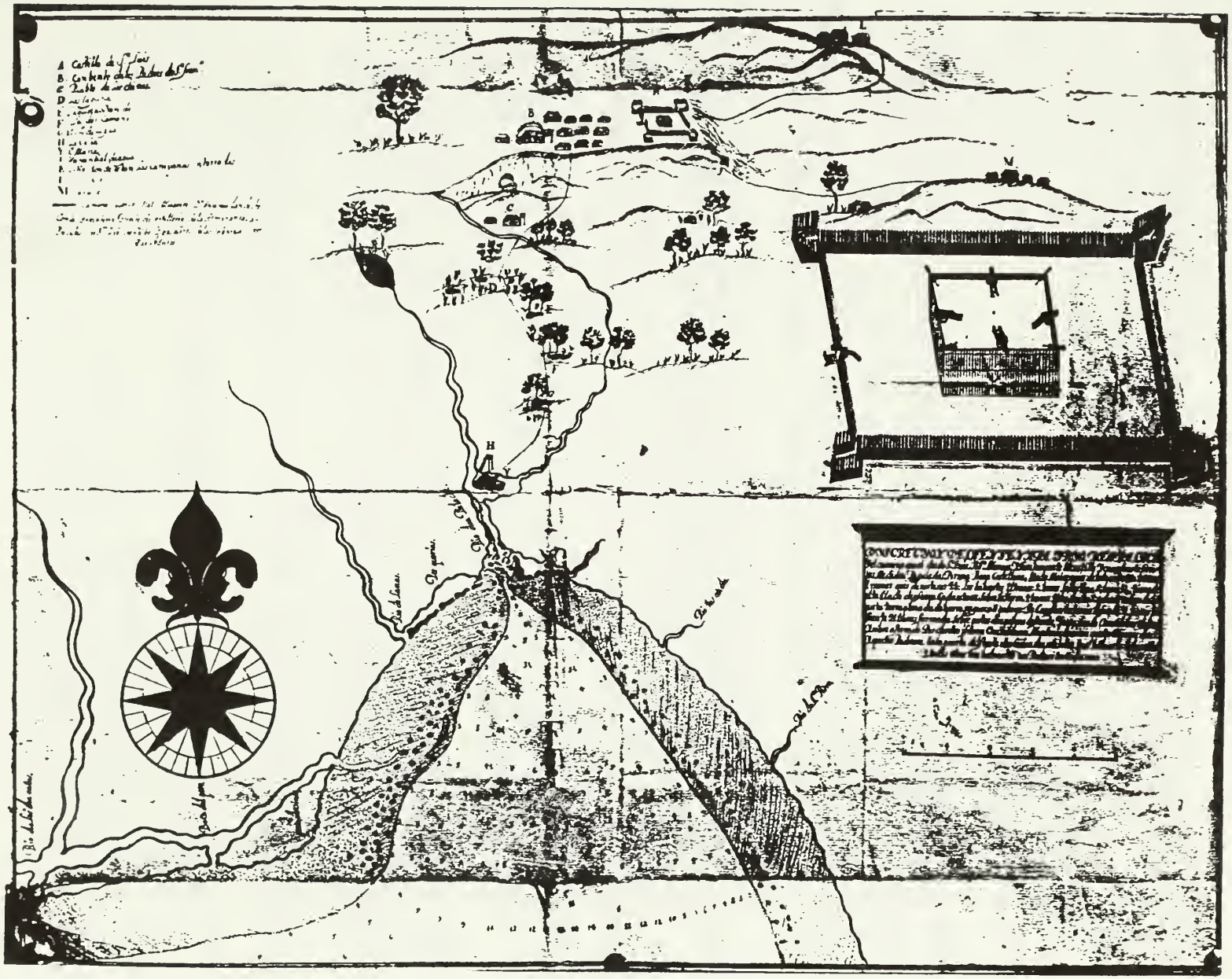

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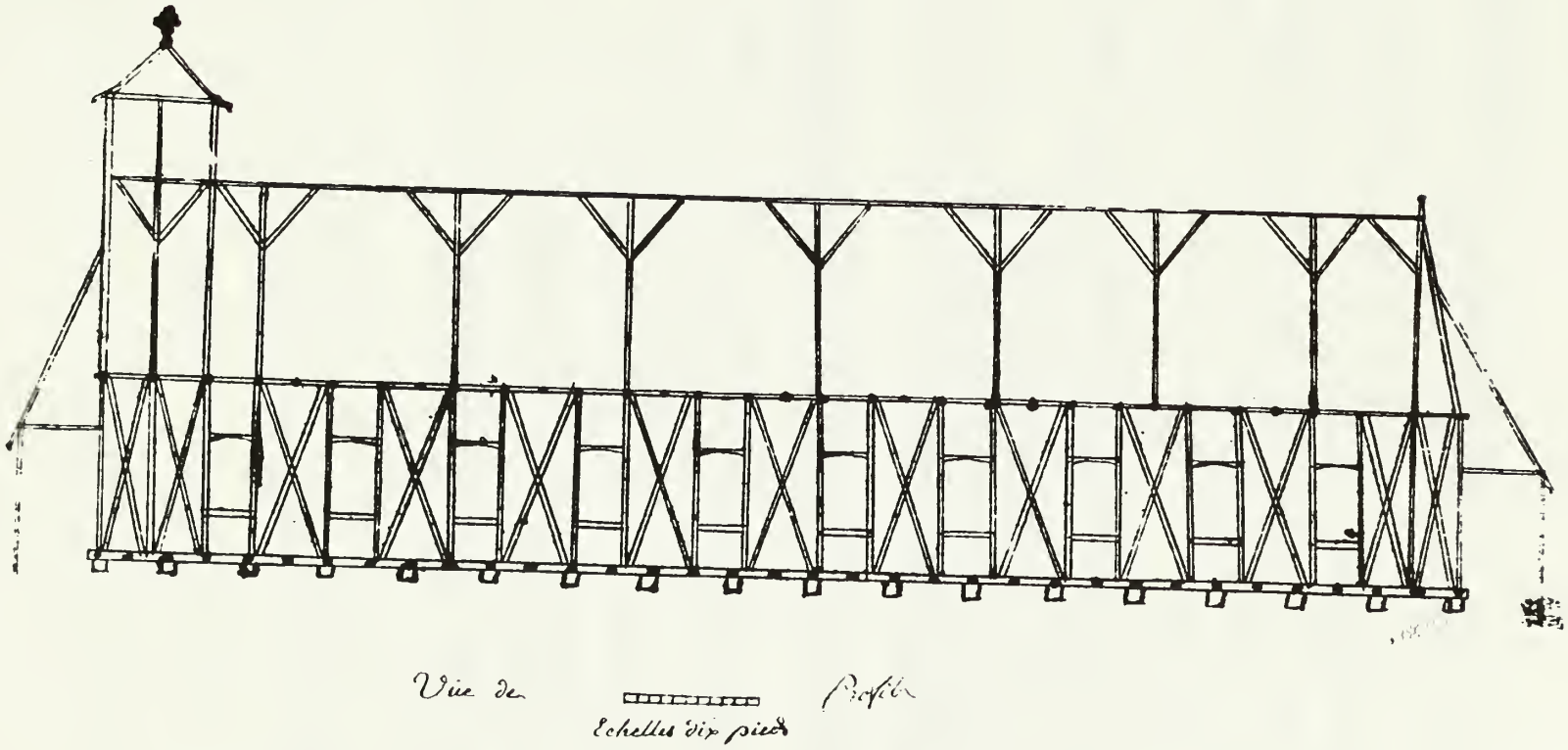

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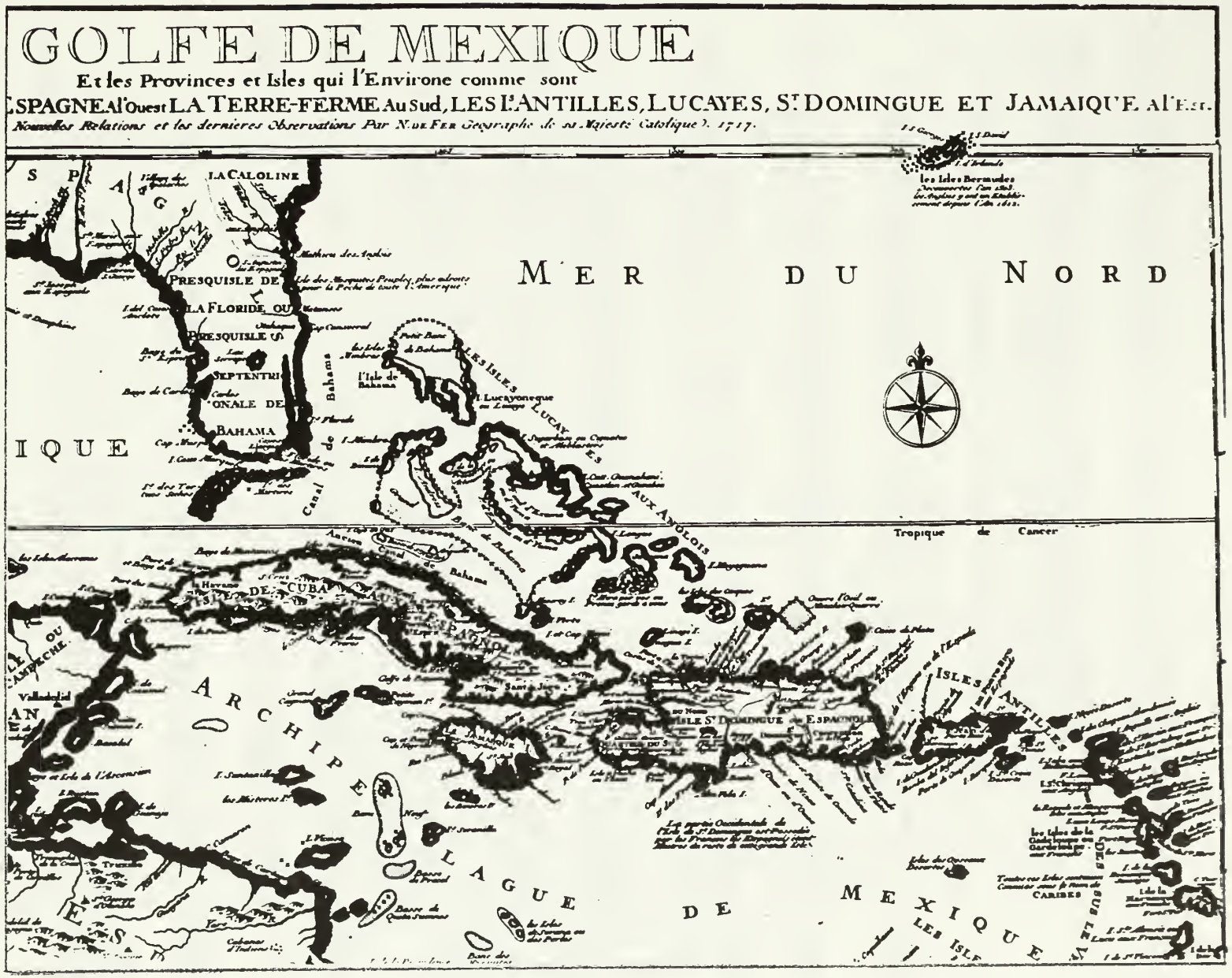

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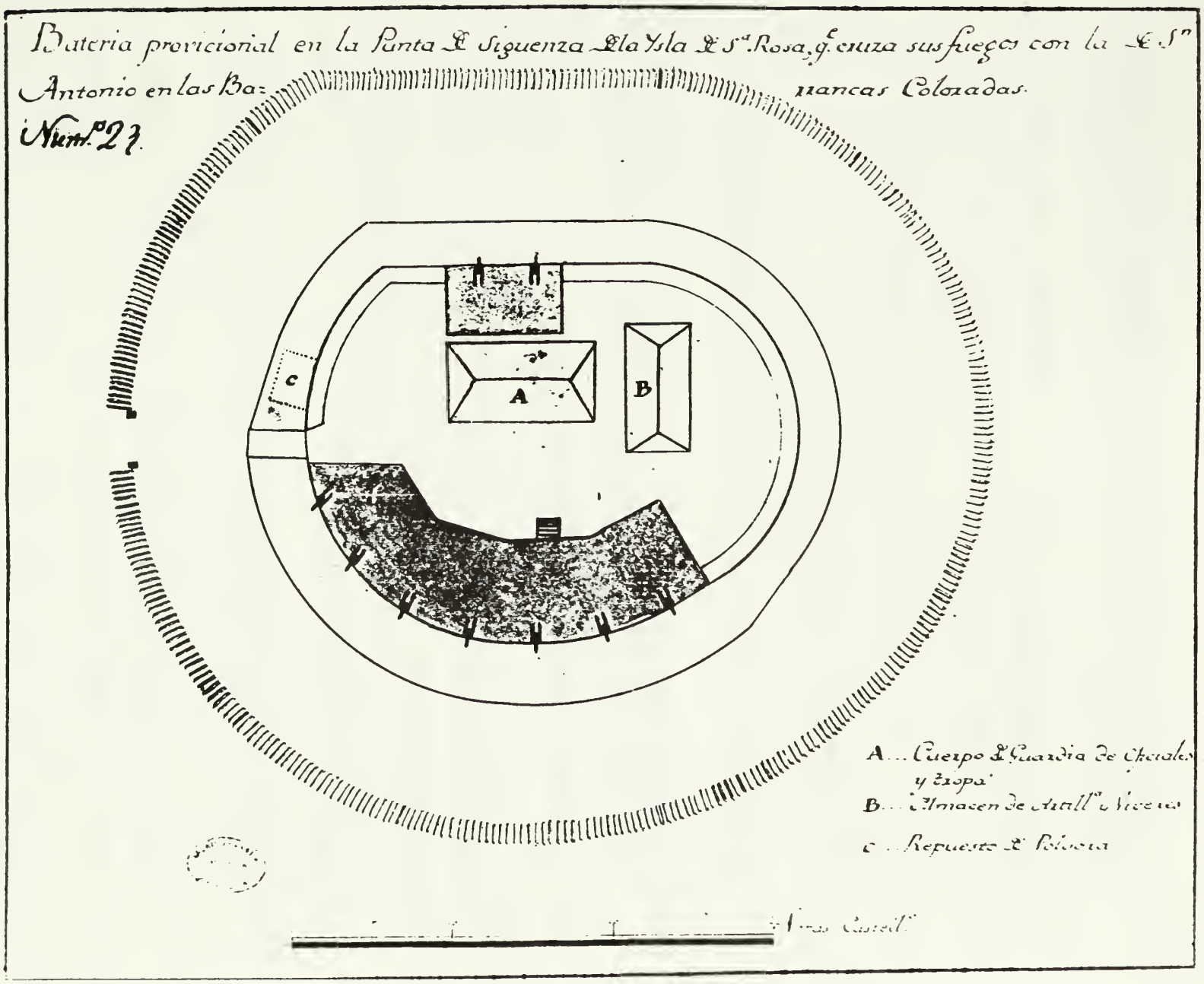

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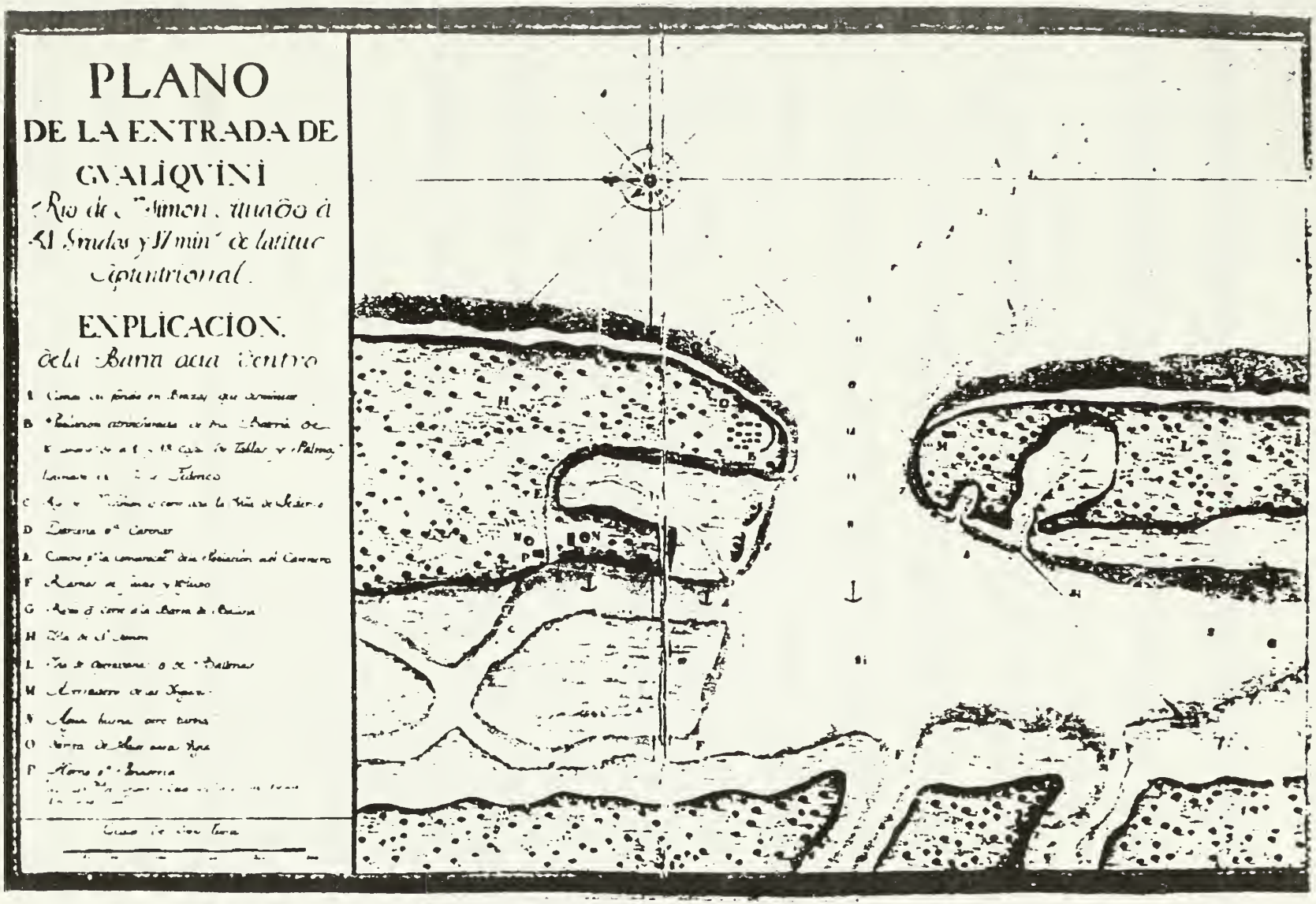

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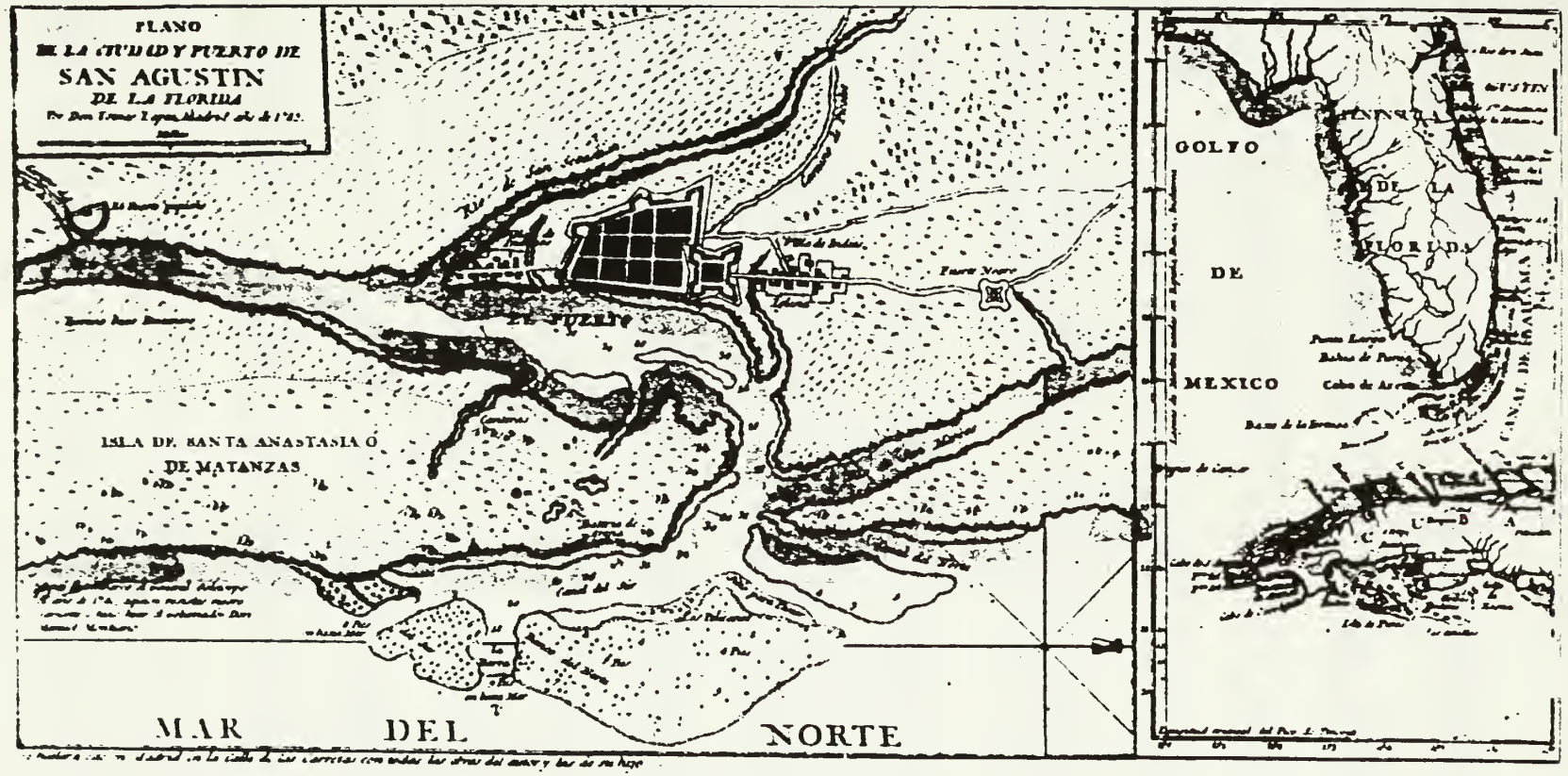

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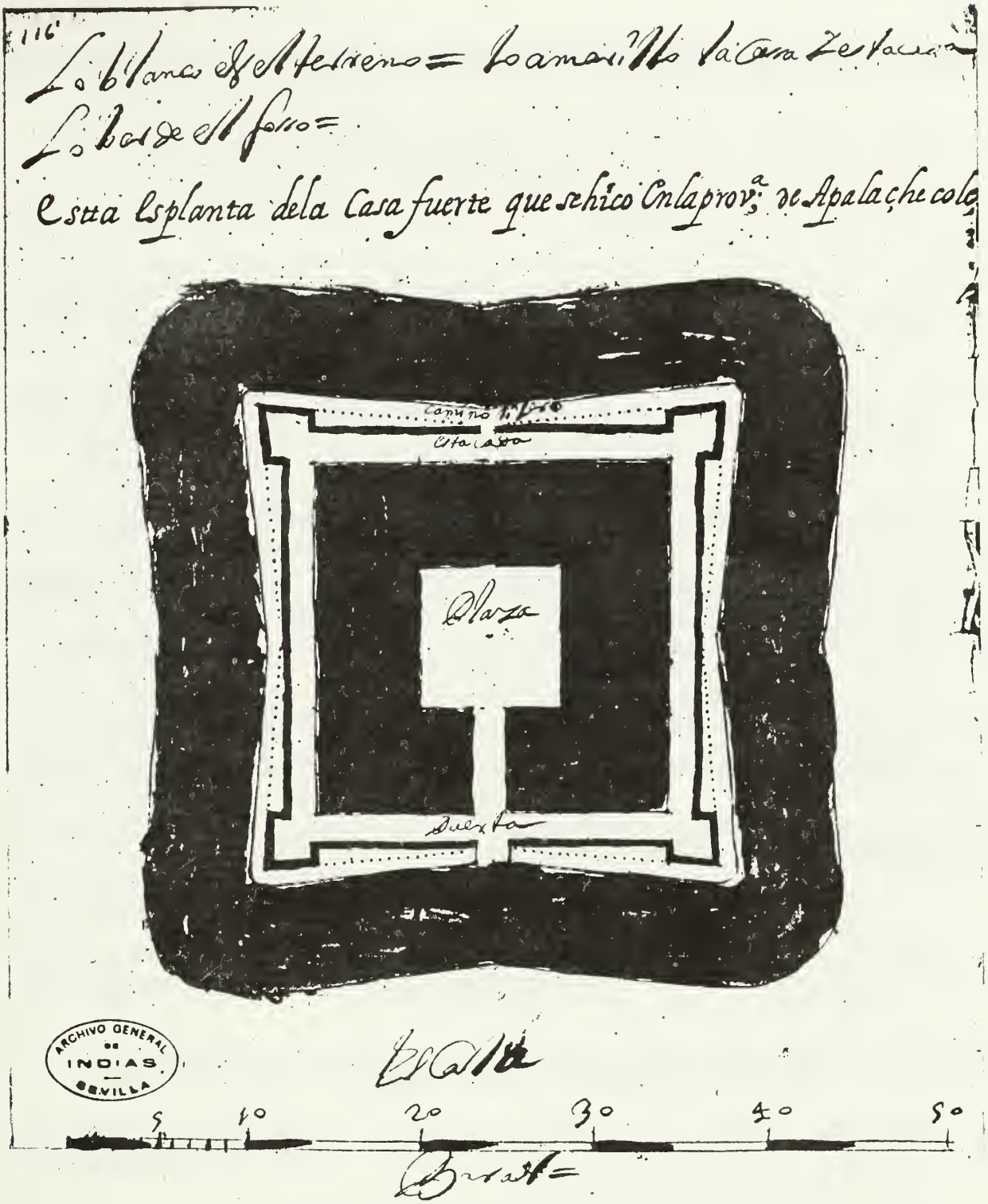

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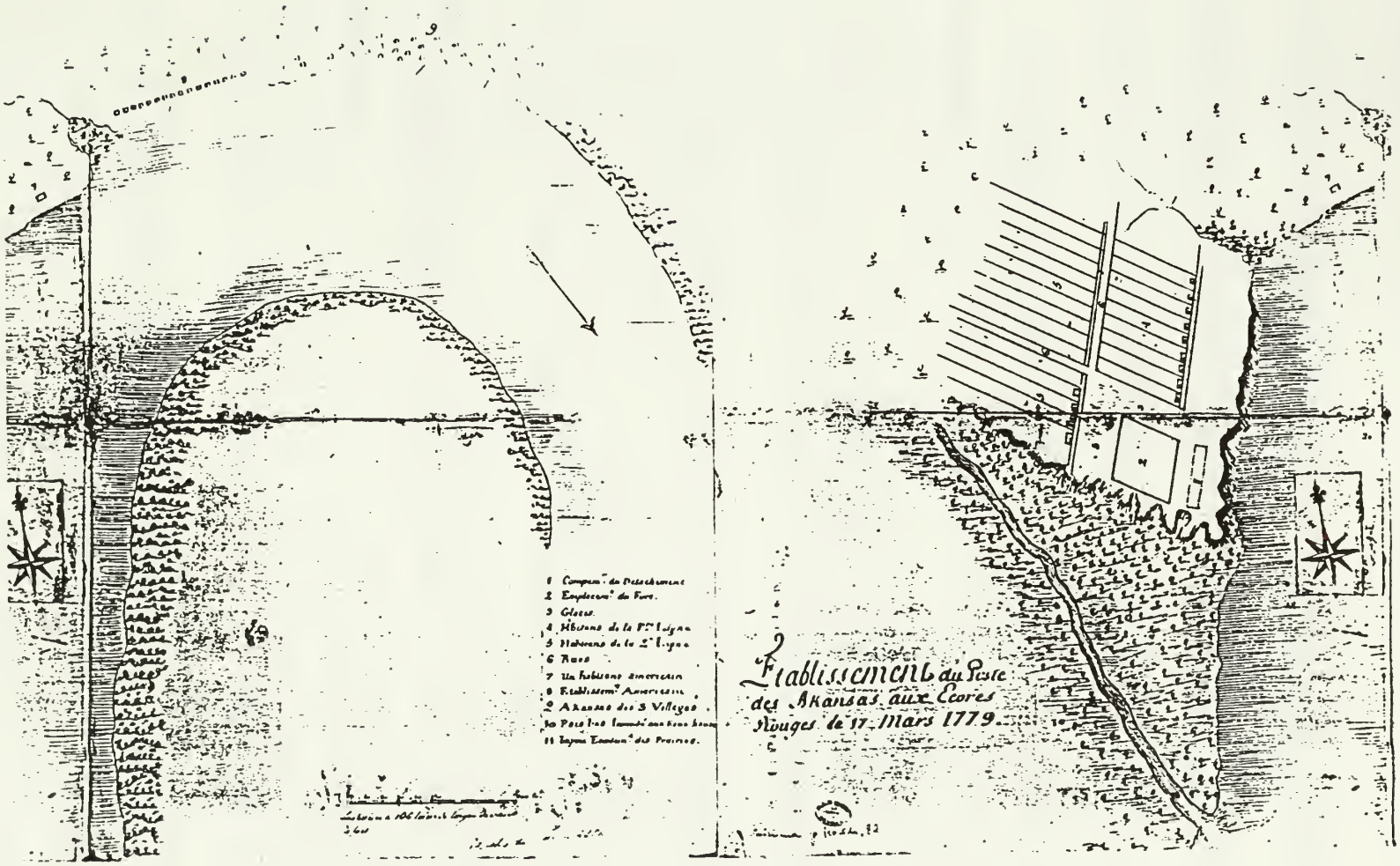

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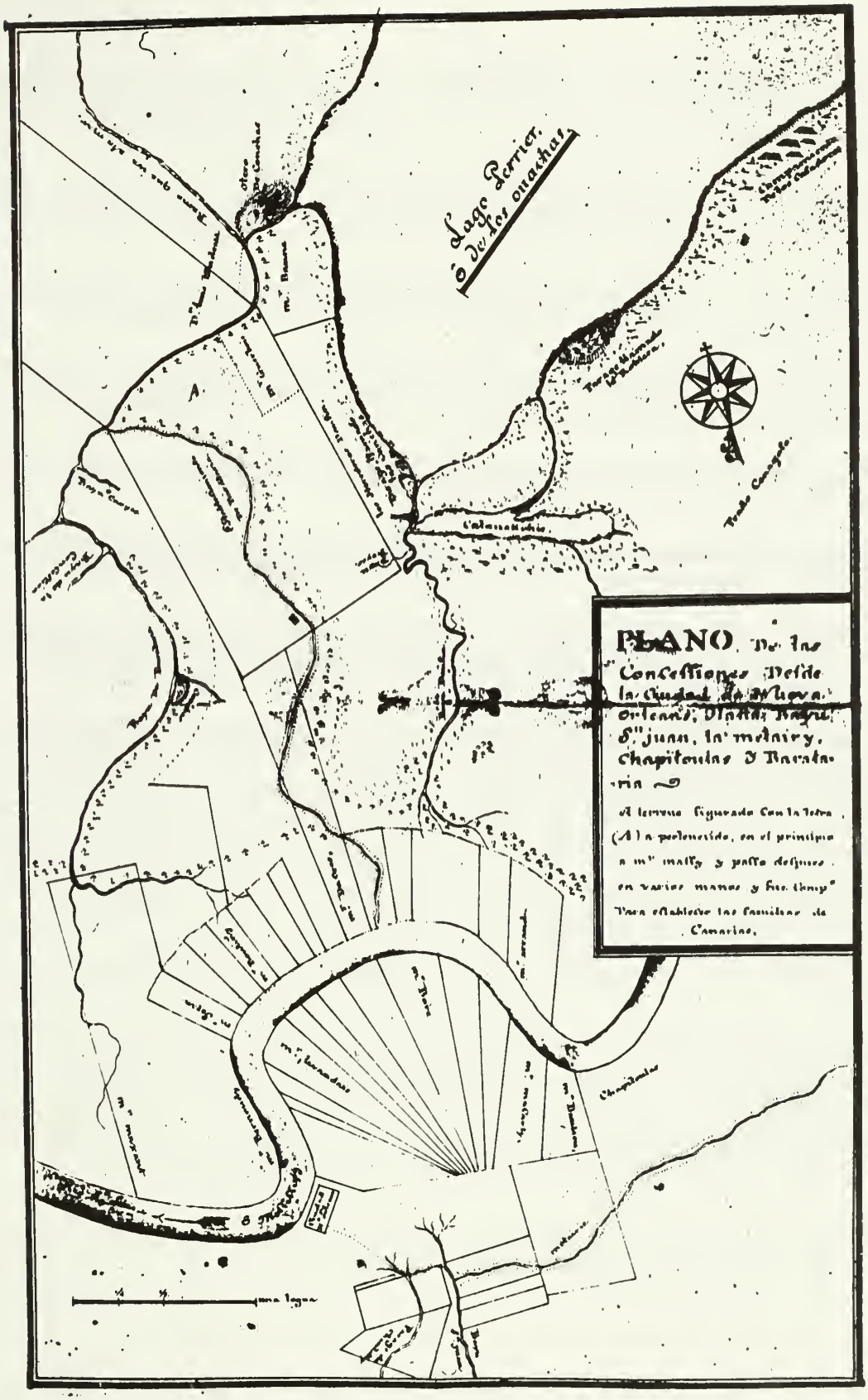

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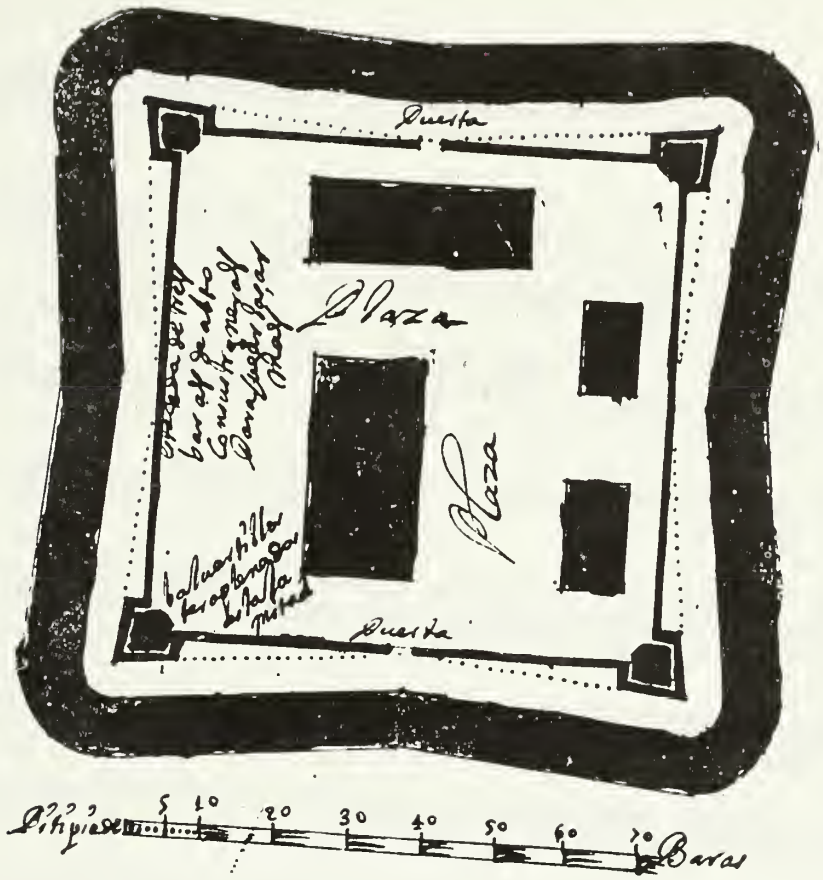

Estaca da hecha en la Isla de Santa Maria
y lugar de Santa Catharina en la Provincia de Guale = Tiene varas
de Alto, con sus Troneras para jugar las armas = con sus Es
quarzillos Sexaplenados Ataladrados = con su foso = Aden
tro de ella la Iglesia; con v.to del Doctrinero; alojamiento
de la Infanteria Una Casilla para cozinar. Como de la planta
pareze con sus pies de varas =

INDIAS
SEVILLA

GEORGIA Guale, Province of, Santa Maria Island, 1691.

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